## Message Text

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1421

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MASERU PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 09808

EXDIS--WNINTEL--NOFORN-COCONTRACT--ORCON

GABORONE, LUSAKA, DAR FOR AMBASSADORS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PROP, PDEV, SF, UN

SUBJECT: REPORTS OF IMPROPER UN ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION

MOVEMENTS

REF: STATE 160603

- 1. MISSOFF DISCUSSED GENERAL QUESTION RAISED IN PARA 3C REFTEL "REFUGEES IN SWAZILAND", WITH OUTGOING DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER, AMCIT CHARLES MACE, WITHOUT RAISING DETAILS PRESENTED REFTEL. MACE'S DISCRETION CAN, IN ANY EVENT, BE TRUSTED.
- 2. DESPITE THE SHORTNESS OF HIS FUTURE TENURE WITH THE ORGANIZATION, MACE DEFENDED UNHCR STRONGLY AS TO THE CORRECTNESS OF ITS POSTURE WITH REGARD TO SUPPORT OF "FREEDOM FIGHTERS". HE POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE SECRET

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FOR UNHCR OFFICIALS TO DISTINGUISH "FREEDOM FIGHTERS (WHO MIGHT THEMSELVES WELL BE CLASSED AS REFUGEES) FROM "NORMAL" REFUGEES. THUS, THE POSSIBILITY COULD NOT BE EXCLUDED THAT PRESENT OR FUTURE "FREEDOM FIGHTERS" WERE PASSING THROUGH OR MAINTAINED IN CAMPS SUPPORTED BY THE UNHCR WITHOUT BEING IDENTIFIED. SIMILARLY, IT COULD NOT BE EXCLUDED THAT SOME ENTERING CAMPS AS BONA FIDE REFUGEES

MIGHT LATER EMERGE, AND/OR BE RECRUITED AS, GUERRILLAS. THE POINT MACE MAKES IS THAT UNHOR HAS NO MANNER OF DETECTING PRESENT OR PROSPECTIVE GUERRILLAS FROM AMONG THE MASS OF REFUGEES IT ASSISTS IN THE CAMPS. HE WAS CATEGORIC, HOWEVER, IN STATING THAT UNHOR POLICY FLATLY FORBIDS RECRUITMENT OF GUERRILLAS IN THE CENTERS IT SUPPORTS, AS WELL AS THEIR TRAINING IN THESE INSTALLATIONS. IF SUCH ACTIVITIES TAKE PLACE, HE SAID, THEY DO SO CLANDESTINELY, WITHOUT UNHOR'S APPROVAL, AND IN VIOLATION OF ITS REGULATIONS.

3. MACE LATER SUBMITTED TO THE MISSION TWO EXCERPTS OF FORMAL REPORTS ISSUED BY UNHER WHICH TOUCH ON THIS SUBJECT:

A. THE FIRST IS AN EXTRACT FROM A REPORT ON HIGH COMMISSIONER POUL HARTLING'S TRIP TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES FROM JANUARY 25 TO FEBRUARY 11, 1978, DURING WHICH HE WAS ASKED CONCERNING UNHCR'S DEALINGS WITH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THE TEXT FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: IT WAS EVIDENT TO THE MISSION THAT AN AIR OF UNCERTAINTY CLOUDED UNHCR'S DEALINGS WITH THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THE LATTER, NOT INFREQUENTLY, QUESTIONED UNHCR'S "DEFINITION" OF A REFUGEE, ADDING THAT THE OFFICE APPEARED ARBITRARY IN WHOM IT CHOSE TO HELP AND WHOM IT CHOSE NOT TO HELP.

AS THE MISSION PROGRESSED, THE HIGH COMMISSIONER DEFINED SECRET

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THE POSITION OF THE OFFICE, TO THE APPARENT SATISFACTION AND RELIEF OF GOVERNMENTS, LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND UNHOR STAFF IN THE AREA. THE COMPONENTS WERE AS FOLLOWS:
(1) UNHOR IS A HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATION. ANY AID FROM THE OFFICE MUST EXCLUSIVELY BE FOR HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES.
(2) IN ACCORDING AID, UNHOR MUST FIRST RECEIVE WELL-CONCEIVED PROJECTS FROM THE PARTIES CONCERNED. THESE MUST ACCORD WITH ESTABLISHED PRINCIPLES OF U.N. ASSISTANCE: FREE ACCESS OF U.N. PERSONNEL TO PROJECT SITES AND AREAS, SCRUPULOUS ACCOUNTING AND AUDITING OF FUNDS/ASSISTANCE PROVIDED.

- (3) UNHCR SOUGHT TO HELP ALL REFUGEES IN NEED, BOTH THOSE BEING ASSISTED THROUGH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND, INDEED, THOSE DESCRIBED AS DISSIDENTS.
- (4) THE OFFICE WAS INTERESTED IN ALLEVIATING IMMEDIATE DISTRESS. IT DID NOT ASK TO KNOW, NOR COULD IT KNOW, WHAT A REFUGEE WOULD DO WITH HIS LIFE AT SOME SPECULATIVE DATE IN THE FUTURE.
- (5) THE DEGREE OF ASSISTANCE FROM THE OFFICE WOULD NATURALLY DEPEND ON THE AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS. PROJECTS SUBMITTED TO THE OFFICE SHOULD THEREFORE BE SO DEFINED AS TO ENCOURAGE DONOR-RESPONSE, NOT ALIENATE IT. END QUOTE.

B. THE SECOND IS EXTRACTED FROM A REPORT BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE NANSEN COMMITTEE, DATED APRIL 11, 1978. QUOTE: REFERRING TO HIS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH LEADERS OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WHOM HE HAD MET IN EACH OF THE COUNTRIES (OF AFRICA) CONCERNED, THE HIGH COMMISSIONER EXPLAINED THAT MEMBERS OF THESE MOVEMENTS COULD BE ASSISTED INSOFAR AS THEY WERE REFUGEES. THEY COULD THEN BENEFIT

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FROM REFUGEE ASSISTANCE PROJECTS WHICH COULD ALSO BE IMPLEMENTED BY THE MOVEMENTS CONCERNED. HIS OFFICE COULD NOT, HOWEVER, JUST PROVIDE FUNDS TO THOSE MOVEMENTS FOR THE FINANCING OF THEIR OTHER ACTIVITIES. THIS VIEW WAS UNDERSTOOD BY THE GOVERNMENTS IN THE AREA. WITH REGARD TO THE SO-CALLED DISSIDENTS, I.E., REFUGEES WHO DID NOT WISH TO BE ENROLLED IN THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, THE HIGH COMMISSIONER CONSIDERED THAT THIS SHOULD IN NO WAY AFFECT THE MAN'S REFUGEE STATUS AND HIS OFFICE WAS MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF THOSE DISSIDENTS WHO WERE DETAINED IN PRISON IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES, AND TO INSURE THEIR SUBSEQUENT RESETTLEMENT IN ANOTHER COUNTRY. END QUOTE.

4. COMMENT: BASED ON MACE'S REMARKS AND THE FOREGOING EXCERPTS, MISSION WOULD BELIEVE THAT, REGARDLESS WHETHER THE FIGURE BE 25 PERCENT, OR MORE OR LESS, REFUGEES

PASSING THROUGH SUCH FACILITIES DECIDE ON THEIR OWN ACCOUNT TO JOIN THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS, AND THAT THE FACILITIES THEMSELVES DO NOT SERVE AS FORMAL CENTERS FOR RECRUITMENT SECRET

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WITH UNHCR KNOWLEDGE OR APPROVAL. IT WOULD FURTHER APPEAR FROM THESE STATEMENTS THAT, AT LEAST FROM THE HEADQUARTERS OPTIC, UNHCR IS NOT INVOLVED IN COMPLICITY IN REGULAR ANC RECRUITMENT. END COMMENT. VANDEN HEUVEL

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